

would vote against the U.S. at the UN, but why, for example, should we not make it clear to the Philippines or Vietnam, which during the current fiscal year receive about \$100 million, each in U.S. foreign assistance that our resources are limited and that these limited resources will, in the first instance, be made available to states that are prepared to reciprocate our friendship?

During my stay at the UN I also learned how the leaders of the anti-democratic forces transmit their voting instructions to their following. The explanation that democratic members of the NAM or the G-77 offer to explain their anti-democratic votes is that they vote the NAM or the G-77 "consensus." That raises the question of how that consensus is reached.

I was offered an explanation by an ambassador from a NAM state with whom I was having lunch. In the course of our conversation he asked me whether I knew how the NAM consensus was formed. When I told him that I did not know, he said: "You know, we used to be on the other side." By that he meant on the pro-Soviet side. He continued by telling me that on the day preceding any meeting of the NAM caucus, which had 101 members at that time, the friends of the Soviet Union, about 17 or 18 states, would have a special meeting. When they were all assembled, a small group would enter the room, always including Cubans. That group would then give out instructions on how the assembled representatives should act when they met the next day at the meeting of the full NAM caucus. Each representative would be assigned a specific task, to make a motion on a position to be taken by the NAM, to be the first speaker in support of a motion, or to be the second speaker in support. Then, the next day, when the full caucus met, the whole scenario would be played out. My colleague concluded his account of NAM procedure by saying: "And there sits the silent majority and just goes along."

To return to the events following the 1973 Burundi amendment to the anti-apartheid resolution: as we so well know, having developed the theme of correlating Zionism with apartheid, the other side did not let go. At the International Women's Year Conference in July 1975 in Mexico City a resolution was adopted which called for the elimination of Zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination. The news from Mexico City focused, of course, on the emphasis that had been placed on the rights of women. But it was in that setting, a setting that emphasized the need for progress for women that another totally unrelated step had been taken in the Zionism is racism campaign. Then, in November of that year that formula was made UN doctrine by the UN General Assembly by its adoption of the "Zionism is Racism" resolution, by a vote of 72 to 35 with 32 abstaining. Confirming the bargain that had been struck, the new controlling alliance put together by Castro and Qaddafi furnished 68 of the 72 affirmative votes. Brazil and Mexico, Cyprus and Malta provided the remaining four. A majority of the "no" votes was provided by the Western Group, but the Western Group was joined by Latin American, Caribbean and sub-Saharan African states. In addition, many of these non-Western states abstained.

What deserves mention is that if Mexico had voted "no" rather than "yes" or if Colombia and Guatemala had joined the United States in voting "no" rather than abstaining, the resolution would have been adopted only if the General Assembly had voted that the resolution was not "important." That is so because with these minor vote changes, the resolution would not have received the two-thirds vote required by the Charter for important resolution. I am mentioning these

details to underline the validity of Moynihan's observation that our side does not do the needed parliamentary spade work at the UN. That is, as noted, in sharp contrast to the extraordinarily effective work done by the Cubans to this day. My guess is that they were well aware of the two-thirds majority requirement and worked hard to attain that result.

I have described how the Zionism is racism campaign got started. Now let us move fast forward to December 22, 2007, when the UN General Assembly had before it a resolution that authorized the allocation of about \$7 million to fund the operation of a committee, chaired by Libya, whose task it was to prepare Durban II. The resolution passed by a vote of 105 to 46. The fact that the "no" vote fell only slightly short of one-third plus 1 is important because the resolution raised a budgetary question and resolutions that raise budgetary questions require a two-thirds majority for adoption. If we had picked up 7 of the 41 abstentions or absences, Durban II would not have been funded.

Now let us take a look at how Durban II came about by comparing the December 2007 vote to the Zionism is Racism vote of November 1975. Here is what we find:

(1) Most of the Western states once again voted "no," although a few, Liechtenstein, New Zealand, Norway, and Switzerland switched to "abstain."

(2) The 25 Western states have now been joined by 18 East European states, some of which had voted "yes" in 1974. Others had not been in existence then, having been republics of the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia. Three Asian UN members also voted "no." They were South Korea, the Marshall Islands, and Palau.

(3) Most of the Latin American, Caribbean and African states that had voted "no" on "Zionism and Racism" in 1975 voted for funding Durban II in 2007.

As we make this comparison between the 1975 vote and the corresponding 2007 vote, we need to note that in the interim, in 1991, the Zionism is Racism resolution was repealed by a vote of 111 to 25. The repeal was the result of a major effort, undertaken by the then Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, John Bolton. The substantial margin of victory for our side was also the result of the fact that the Soviet bloc had dissolved, the Soviet Union was disintegrating, and the anti-democratic coalition at the UN was in utter disarray.

But this disarray did not last long. The anti-democratic forces at the UN quickly regained their footing and were soon again in full operation. While they used to fly the flag of the Non-Aligned Movement in earlier decades, they now sail under the flag of the Group of 77. There is only one significant difference between the NAM and the G-77. China does not belong to the former, but belongs to the latter. In fact the G-77 calls itself now the "Group of 77 and China." China has become an increasingly significant player in the anti-democratic camp at the UN.

China, incidentally, is one country that has no history of antisemitism. On the contrary, Chinese intellectuals see parallels between their ancient culture and the ancient culture of the Hebrews. China has also excellent trade relations with Israel. But at the UN, China consistently votes against Israel. It does so because it is an integral part of the group of member states that use the UN to embarrass the democracies.

As we watch the totalitarians at work in Geneva, using the UN umbrella in their attacks on the basic principles on which the UN was founded, it is understandable that there are many observers who are prepared to give up on the UN. The response that I

want to offer to these pessimists is that while we can clearly identify the symptoms of the disease from which the UN suffers, it is a disease from which it can be cured. What is needed is for the governments of the democracies, particularly of the United States, to engage in more effective parliamentary work at the UN.

Let us take a look at the roll calls on the two votes that I have cited the 1975 Zionism is Racism vote and the 2007 Durban II funding vote. On the first of these the "no" vote was 32.7%. On the second it was 30.5%, an insignificant difference in the percentages. As we look at this almost imperceptible change in percentages, we should note that the Freedom House categorizations for 1975 and 2007 show a wholly different pattern. In 1975, Freedom House classified 27% of the UN membership as free. In 2007 the percentage of free countries was 46%, a major increase.

Why was that difference not reflected in the votes on the two resolutions? Our side had indeed picked up Eastern Europe's new democracies. But we had lost the support of many Latin American, Caribbean, and African states, most of them fellow-democracies. The additional votes cast for our side were not the result of any diplomatic effort on our part. They reflected the political beliefs of the new East European democracies. The democracies whose votes we lost, on the other hand, were lost as a result of a failure on our part to engage them fully on UN issues, combined with the extraordinarily clever manipulation by the other side.

So, as we watch Durban II unfold, let us keep in mind that effecting change at the UN is not a hopeless cause. The percentage of UN member states that Freedom House classifies as "not free" is down to 22%. Under these circumstances should it not be possible for the democracies to return the UN to the principles spelled out in the Charter? I submit it can be done if the United States Government will commit itself to spend the time and energy needed to attain that goal. And it is our task, as citizens, to urge our Government to do just that.

Let me conclude my remarks by expressing the thanks of all of us assembled here to those whose idea it was to arrange for this counter-conference and who did the necessary organizational work. All of us who believe in the fundamental principles on which the United Nations were founded need to stand up against those who are fully engaged in efforts to subvert them. That is what this counter-conference is doing. And we shall overcome!

HONORING STEVEN MICHAEL KINNAMAN

HON. SAM GRAVES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 23, 2009

Mr. GRAVES. Madam Speaker, I proudly pause to recognize Steven Michael Kinnaman a very special young man who has exemplified the finest qualities of citizenship and leadership by taking an active part in the Boy Scouts of America, Troop 145, and in earning the most prestigious award of Eagle Scout.

Steven has been very active with his troop participating in many scout activities. Over the many years Steven has been involved with scouting, he has not only earned numerous merit badges, but also the respect of his family, peers, and community.

Madam Speaker, I proudly ask you to join me in commending Steven Michael Kinnaman